

APPENDIX A. THE GOLDEN GROVE BOOKS.

Through the courtesy of the Chapter of the College of Arms I have been allowed access to the collection known as the Protheroe MSS. It consists of some fifty-one volumes, together with numerous fragments which, when finally arranged and bound, will bring the total to some sixty manuscript items. A study of these manuscripts clears up several important points in connection with the genealogical corpus known as the Golden Grove books. Before I pass on to a detailed exposition of the Protheroe MSS., a review of the publications of previous writers in relation to the Golden Grove books will be found useful.

In Arch. Camb. for 1898, the late Mr. Alan Stepney-Gulston of Derwydd drew attention to the Golden Grove books, which had been deposited in the Public Record Office on 4th May, 1870, by the Historical MSS. Commissioners, in whose care the owner, the then Earl Cawdor, had placed them. Mr. Stepney-Gulston was of the opinion that Hugh Thomas had been concerned in their compilation and he stated that their eighteenth century owner, John Vaughan of Golden Grove, loaned them to Theophilus Jones, who annotated them. After Theophilus' death on 15th January, 1812, the books were restored to Lord Cawdor, who was the heir of the said John Vaughan who had died in 1804. This note aroused the curiosity of Mr. J. Pym Yeatman, who considered the question of the Golden Grove MSS. in an article entitled "Welsh Records" in Arch. Camb. for 1900. Mr. Yeatman's essay was the first effort to establish the authorship of the Golden Grove books of pedigrees, and it will later be shown that his reasoning was extremely sound, and that he had actually placed his finger on the true origins of this remarkable genealogical collection. He stated that a letter in the Bodleian written by Edward Protheroe, junior, on 12th August, 1842, showed that William Lewes of Llwynderw had copied the pedigrees of David Edwardes and had arranged them on "a new method," where the families were placed under their respective "chieftains." He added that there were five (recte three) of Edwardes' volumes in the Bodleian, and, having discussed all the evidence then available to him, concludes thus "Here is ample evidence to show a common origin between the Golden Grove Book and David Edwards: or, rather, that Edwards was the groundwork of the other, and that he made his books up from the older authorities, probably presented to him through William Lewes." Mr. Yeatman proceeded to suggest that the man who transcribed the pedigrees into the Golden Grove books was Evan Evans the poet, but he adds that there was no direct evidence of this.

This impelled the late Mr. Edward Owen to consider the matter in an essay entitled "The Golden Grove Book of Pedigrees" in Arch. Camb. for 1903. Mr. Owen set out to "correct" certain "errors" in Mr. Yeatman's work, but unfortunately he added very considerably to the confusion. He was especially interested in the transcriber of the pedigrees, and dismissed (possibly rightly) Mr. Yeatman's suggestion that Evan Evans may have been the scribe. He suggested that the transcript was the work of one Emanuel Evans, but on a most flimsy hypothesis. Unfortunately he had accepted the bad error of the author of Hanes Plwyfi Penboyr a Llangeler, who, as I have shown, had confused William Lewes of Llwynderw and William Lewis of Llamas. He appreciated correctly that the Golden Grove books were transcripts of William Lewes' manuscripts. He stated that David Edwardes' MSS. "were speedily dispersed" after their owner's death, a number of the volumes going into the possession of Mr. Lloyd of Alltyrodin. "The Lewes collection," he said, "in its turn, was scattered far and wide in a few years after the death of its patient collector and compiler," which he believed was about 1755-60. It will be shown that there was little, if any, such dispersal, and that the collections were carefully kept together by a series of possessors who had appreciated their true value. Mr. Owen passed the following judgement "As one who knows the Welsh pedigree manuscripts at the British Museum pretty thoroughly, I may be permitted the remark that I am inclined to rate The Golden Grove Book rather low, though

decidedly higher than the pedigree collections of Hugh Thomas" (Arch. Camb., 1903, p. 167). Those who have had occasion to check Mr. Owen's strange Catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum with the original manuscripts which he professes to describe, will be able to judge for themselves his suitability for making ex cathedra pronouncements on Welsh genealogy.

Mr. H. J. T. Wood discussed the Golden Grove books in an essay entitled "The Value of Welsh Pedigrees" in *The Ancestor* for 1903. This essay was the first attempt made to assess the accuracy and reliability of these pedigrees, and although Mr. Wood cannot be considered to have proved his point to the satisfaction of scholars like Dr. Round, or indeed to serious Welsh students, he nevertheless made one very shrewd observation when he wrote the conclusion being that The Golden Grove is a copy and continuation of pedigrees drawn up in the seventeenth century." The next, and latest, contribution to the subject was made by the late Mr. John Davies, an amiable and modest gentleman who had the advantage of serving as an officer of the National Library of Wales. Mr. Davies discussed the question in an essay entitled "The Alltyrolyn Manuscripts" in *The Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society*, July, 1938, and from documents in the National Library was able to trace the fate (or fortune) of those manuscripts from the time of the Alltyrolyn sale in 1822, with a certain degree of accuracy, if not completeness.

Such then were the efforts made to establish the authorship and history of what are generally known as the Golden Grove books. In view of evidence that has recently come to light it is now possible to describe the history of these manuscripts from their first compilation to the present day.

The pedigree of the Protheroe MSS. (the originals from which the Golden Grove books were copied) can be traced with certainty to the late sixteenth century. Their font and origin is George Owen of Henllys, in Pembrokeshire, who wrote a large number of historical and genealogical manuscripts. Some of Owen's genealogies were originated by himself from public records, deeds, and other similar sources. Others he copied from the pedigree collections of Griffith Hiraethog, Lewis Dwnn, Thomas Jones of Fountain Gate, and other contemporary and near-contemporary genealogists. After his death in 1613, several of his manuscripts came to the hands of George William Griffith of Penybenglog and John Lloyd of Vairdre.

George William Griffith made several copies of Owen's pedigrees, which he extended from 1613 to the time of his death in 1653. He also retained in his possession certain of Owen's manuscripts which he annotated and corrected. He also originated several pedigree manuscripts, and, as I have noted elsewhere, both he and George Owen were responsible, on a small scale it is true, for compiling pedigrees of all the descendants under their tribal chieftains (e.g. Gwynfardd and Cadifor) in "race-horse" pedigree form rather than the tabular. It is to be noted that the arrangement of Welsh families in tabular form, under tribal protonyms, had been essayed by the English herald Vincent as early as 1620, whose methods and works were most certainly known to the illegitimate son of Owen of Henllys, namely George Owen York Herald, who returned to live in his native Pembrokeshire about 1663, and where he died in 1665. On the death of George William Griffith in 1653, his manuscripts came to his son, William Griffith, who certainly annotated many of them and added later generations to them. As I have already indicated, William Griffith was known to David Edwardes of Rhydygorse, who had also very probably known the father, George William Griffith.

So far, we have traced certain manuscripts originated at Henllys to about the year 1654 when some of them were located at Penybenglog and Vairdre, where they had been used and added to by the two Griffiths and Lloyd respectively, who had also originated manuscripts of their own. In that year there were at least seven of George Owen's manuscripts, seven of George William Griffith's manuscripts, and perhaps two written by William Griffith, at Penybenglog house, while at the Cardiganshire house of Vairdre there were at least two that had been compiled by the antiquary of Henllys.

William Griffith of Penybenglog died without issue about 1677, and his brother who inherited the estate was not, as far as I know, interested in genealogies. William's widow, Frances, was a cousin to the Lewes' of Gellydywyll (who were related to the Llwynderw family), and aunt to George Lewes of Hendre in St. Dogmaels parish. George Lewes was evidently interested in pedigrees, and into his possession came at least one of the Penybenglog manuscripts, which later passed to William Lewes of Llwynderw, and which was labelled the "Hendre Book." It is important to notice this connection, and we shall return to it later.

We now turn to David Edwardes of Rhydygorse. Some twenty of his manuscripts, either wholly or largely in his hand, have survived. These remarkable documents show that he had made a most complete collection of North and South Wales pedigrees entirely in the tabular form under tribal protonyms. He had certainly used some of the Henllys-Penybenglog MSS. which he annotated, but whether he owned them I am unable to say. At any rate, he transcribed several in toto, and extended them from about 1670 to 1690. He paid strict attention to heraldry and transcribed a West Wales armorial which had been made by the Revd. George Owen Harry, a friend and neighbour of George Owen of Henllys, and added a vast number of arms himself. He also originated several volumes of heraldry, one of which is truly a tremendous work. His heraldic interests were not confined to Wales, but included Irish, Scots, English, and German, and other continental family arms. He also produced a collection of West Wales pedigrees in sentence form, which were later transcribed in toto, and added to, by William Lewes and Hugh Thomas, and which have been published under the name of Peniarth MS. 156 (West Wales Historical Records, Vols. 1 and 2), and Dale Castle MS. (privately printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill). The Llysnewydd MS. is another similar transcript made by William Lewes. Over twenty of Edwardes' MSS. are in the Protheroe collection in the College of Arms, and three are in the Bodleian Library. On his death in 1690 there can be no doubt that most, if not the bulk, of these manuscripts were acquired by William Lewes, while a few, which we shall encounter later, remained at Rhydygorse.

William Lewes of Llwynderw (1651-1722) now demands our attention. He is the most important figure in the story of these manuscripts, and is, in every way, the key man. We have already noted that he was related to Mrs. William Griffith of Penybenglog, George Lewes of Hendre, and that his wife was the daughter of old John Lloyd of Vairdre, who was a known collector of genealogical manuscripts and a genealogist himself. Into Lewes' hands, by some means, came the bulk of the Edwardes manuscript volumes, the Hendre and Hengae books of pedigrees, the Penybenglog manuscripts, as well as some other seventeenth century pedigree books written in hands unknown to me at the present moment. With a most commendable industry, Lewes made his own copies of these (particularly those by Edwardes) and extended them down to 1722 when he died. He was actively engaged in these genealogical pursuits in the year of his death. That he did not obtain all of Edwardes' holograph works is clear from his reference to Edwardes' Radnorshire book of pedigrees concerning which he wrote "qui mihi desideratur." Lewes gave much help to his neighbours, relatives, and friends, with their pedigrees and armorial achievements. On 30th September, 1708, William Powell of Nanteos wrote to him for advice about the eleventh quarter that was

to be included in the marshalled shield to be placed on his father's monument which had just arrived at Nanteos. On 7th August, 1712, Sir John Crow of Westmead, Carmarthenshire, wrote to thank him for sending him the Crow pedigree, and would like to see him personally but "it seems you are not very well. A short time afterwards, his nephew, John Lewes of Carmarthen, asked him to send to him the pedigree of the Laugharnes of Llan-dawke which his friend Hugh Lloyd was anxious to see. I have already dismissed his claim to have been the originator of a system, which he said, quite untruly and knowing it to be false, had not hitherto been tried by Edwardes or anyone else. He definitely cribbed the idea from Edwardes, whose works he had annotated and also transcribed most faithfully. To these, William Lewes added some twenty-five volumes of pedigrees, either wholly or partly in his hand. It is interesting to note that Edwardes book of pedigrees which Lewes described in his letter to Hugh Thomas on 4th February, 1710-11 (Harl. MS. 7001, fo. 455), is now in the College of Arms, and as its last fifteen folios are in Hugh Thomas' hand it would appear that Thomas had later succeeded in borrowing it. It should be noted that Hugh Thomas' contribution to these manuscripts was practically nil, and only in one volume do we find traces of his work.

Thus by 1720 William Lewes had collected at Llwynderw a considerable library of manuscripts which had come from Henllys, Penybenglog, Vairdre, Rhydygorse, and elsewhere, and in addition he had compiled valuable works himself. I like to picture him seated in his snug parlour before a glowing log fire during the winter evenings studying the descents of the bonheddig by mellow candle-light, while outside the wind howled through the gnarled oaks that stood like silent sentinels around the ancient house. I wonder how much of his time he gave to Mrs. Lewes

A hundred years were to elapse before the manuscripts of Llwynderw found their final home. I shall now consider this interesting period in their history-the period, during which Mr. Owen so confidently tells us, they were "scattered far and wide.

We have seen that William Lewes' second wife was Elinor daughter of Evan Pryce of Rhydybenne. After Lewes' death she remarried to William Lewis of Llanlas, an intellectual man whose interests were concerned with religion and not with the affairs of this sinful world. Elinor had a brother called Edmund Pryce, an attorney-at-law, who practised at the Great Sessions, and who, like his late brother-in-law had been smitten by the pedigree-fever. To his hand came the great collection of William Lewes, and he housed it at his own home in Rhydybenne. Edmund had been born about 1692, and he lived until 25th June, 1774, when he passed away at the age of 82. His wife was Catherine Howell, daughter of the Revd. Rice Howell of nearby Maesgwynne, and by her he had an only child Walter Pryce, who died on 14th May, 1787, without surviving issue. Edmund Pryce wrote a very distinctive hand, which is not dissimilar to that of the copyist who made the Golden Grove books. He studied the books from Llwynderw with great care, and he made several additions to them, bringing the pedigrees down to about 1770. He also originated many pedigrees himself and was also a competent armorist. He made complete transcripts of some of Lewes' volumes and extended the pedigrees, besides making an occasional correction in the originals. Like the previous owner of the manuscripts, Edmund Pryce was ready to help his friends and neighbours in genealogical and heraldic matters. On 14th August, 1765, John Lewis of Llanerchayron wrote to him asking for the arms of the Lewis' of Killie, Llanerchayron, and Vairdre, and from his statement-"I shall readily give you any gratuity you think proper" — it would appear that Edmund improved his finances by his genealogical and heraldic pursuits. During this period several others interested in genealogy consulted the collection, such as John Laugharne of Laugharne, John Lloyd, and others whose annotations are to be seen in the volumes. During this time there is evidence that some of the manuscripts were loaned, or

perhaps given, to others. One, written by William Lewes, went to Jones Lewis of Gilvach, a competent genealogist, and this volume by an interesting coincidence has also arrived in the College of Arms and is now in the Gilvach collection there. (The Gilvach pedigrees were principally copied in 1830 from a manuscript copy in the possession of a Mr. Lloyd Llewelyn of Carmarthen, which copy had been written by one Morgan Lewis in 1696. A study of these pedigrees leads me to the conclusion that Morgan Lewis' work was based on some of the originals of David Edwardes.) A few others, in the hand of David Edwardes, went to Dolwilym, the home of the Protheroe family, but whether they went there via Llwynderw, or via Rhydybenne, or indeed directly from Rhydygorse, I am unable to say. There were also at Dolwilym several transcripts of Edwardes' pedigrees written in an unknown hand, and these also are now in the College of Arms.

It was during the Rhydybenne period that the copy was made, later to become known as the Golden Grove books. It is a faithful copy of the books of William Lewes, and several of the trees have been brought down to about 1765, which was about the time that the copy was made. Since it contains entries in the hand of Edmund Pryce it is clear that he gave assistance to the transcriber as well as facilities to carry out his great task. On the first page of the first volume of the Golden Grove books occurs the entry "Carm[ar]then 20th July 1765. E.E. and on this, Yeatman and Owen theorized as to the identity of the transcriber. At the moment all we can say is that we do not know who this transcriber was. It is said to have been copied for John Vaughan of Golden Grove, but on what authority is unknown to me. It was certainly used by Theophilus Jones who made additions to it. It came into the possession of the Earl Cawdor, and in 1828 it was kept by R. B. Williams, Esq., at Llandilo. It should be observed that the Golden Grove books contain only a part of the fifty-one volumes that make up the collection, and a great deal of important genealogical material has been omitted. Several of William Lewes' pedigrees were written in Welsh and Latin, especially when he indulged in a little scandal, much of which makes lively reading. Other material that has been omitted includes the many englynion, the Latin verses on the siege of Carmarthen in 1130, and material relating to the acquisition and devolution of property in West Wales.

Before his death in 1774, Edmund Pryce gave the collection to his relation and neighbour, David Lloyd of Alltyrodyn, who had married as his second wife Justinia, daughter of John Pryce of Blaendyffryn, younger brother of the said Edmund. The manuscripts were kept safely at Alltyrodyn, and there is no evidence that they were annotated or in any other wise added to during their stay at that pleasant Cardiganshire country house. On the death of David Lloyd they came to his son and heir, also named David Lloyd, whose first wife was Elizabeth daughter of Herbert Evans of Highmead, a man with keen genealogical interests. In 1804, Richard Fenton saw the manuscripts, when on 14th May of that year he called at the house-"Mr Lloyd of Allt yr Odin received me very civilly, shewed me several fragments, and Books of his genealogical Collection relating to Pembrokeshire, which he has kindly promised me the use of. (Tours in Wales, p. 8). A writer in 1815 considered the library sufficiently interesting to be mentioned, and wrote "The Allt yr Odyn Library may be mentioned here, as containing some curious ancient Welsh manuscripts, chiefly valuable however as genealogical documents. The worthy proprietor has always with a laudable liberality, thrown them open to the inspection of such persons as wished to peruse them, and were likely to benefit either themselves or the public by an examination of their contents." (T. Rees, Beauties of South Wales, 1815, p. 499). They were destined to remain at Alltyrodyn until 1822, when a new figure makes his entrance upon the stage. This was a young man called Edward Protheroe. According to a pedigree in the hand of Edward Protheroe, he was the son of Edward Protheroe, senior, who was the son of Phillip Protheroe, a descendant of the Protheroes of Molleston, Pembrokeshire, said to have been kinsfolk of Protheroe of Egremont and Dolwilym, and descendants of the mighty Cadifor Fawr. The grandfather,

Phillip Protheroe, had prospered in Bristol, and when he died in 1803 he was a well-to-do merchant and owner of a country house, Over Court in Gloucestershire. His son Edward, born in 1774, was educated at Christ College, Cambridge, and carried on the family business at Bristol, and later represented that city in parliament. By his wife Anne Waterhouse, of Wellhead, York-shire, whom he married on 10th October, 1796, he had an only son, Edward, born on 10th August, 1798. Edward Protheroe junior was educated at his father's old college and became an M.P. first for Evesham, later for Bristol, and finally for Halifax. He was a commissioner of Public Records, a J.P. and D.L. for Gloucestershire, and a D.L. for the city of Bristol.

Young Edward devoted much attention to his family history. In point of fact he was much better descended than he knew or ever discovered. He decided to conduct inquiries in West Wales, and it was not long before he heard of the genealogical treasures of Alltyrolyn. In 1819 he wrote from Christ College to David Lloyd to ask whether the manuscripts contained any references to the Protheroes of Dolwilym. On 5th November of that year David Lloyd answered that he had discovered something about the former possessors of Dolwilym in the "Book of the descendants of Cadifor= Vawr," and added "The Pedigree Books, of which, I am at present the Owner, belonged once to Mr. William Lewes of Llwynderw, Llangeler Parish, Carmarthen Shire, who gave them to an old relation of mine, from whom I had them I have great Confidence in the authenticity of these manuscripts as the first possessor of them was a very eminent Antiquarian, and rendered great Service to Cambden in Collecting materials for his Britannia, and received the grateful acknowledgment of that learned Man." This shows that David Lloyd had not only appreciated their value, but also knew something about their origin.

Soon after this, Edward Protheroe appeared in person in West Wales in pursuit of his ancestors, and he was well received in the country-houses. After he had seen the manuscripts at Alltyrolyn, Dolwilym, and Rhydygorse, another idea entered his head. He would buy the lot. Being well blessed with the things of this world, he felt quite confident about the financial aspect of his intended purchase. And where he could not buy he would transcribe. Fortunately his own account of the "Protheroe MSS." as they are now called has survived, and we are enabled to see what went on.

Edward Protheroe kept a close watch on Mr. David Lloyd of Alltyrolyn, who was aged and in declining health. Other people, including relatives, had also their eyes on the manuscripts, but either through being too easy-going in the matter, or considering the probable price as being too high, they "missed the boat." On 21st May, 1822, David Lloyd of Alltyrolyn crossed the bourne whence no traveller returns. Protheroe swooped like a hawk, and on 11th June he was able to inform his kinsman, Evan Protheroe of Narberth, that he had acquired the manuscripts, having bought them privately from John Lloyd, the son and heir of the deceased. When the contents of the library of Alltyrolyn were sold by auction in July, 1822, there were no manuscripts included. Protheroe had the lot. Indeed, as late as 1825, Major Herbert Evans of High-mead, a neighbour and kinsman of Alltyrolyn and a genealogist, was unaware of the private sale to Protheroe, and it was only in the September of that year that he discovered what had occurred.

Protheroe did not rest after this victory. He had seen several manuscripts belonging to David Edwardes and others at Dolwilym, and so engaging was his manner that Mrs. Protheroe of Dolwilym actually made him a present of them. Among these he found sections of manuscripts which had originally formed part of the Alltyrolyn volumes, and he was now able to place them together again. At Llysnewydd he had seen a collection of West Wales pedigrees, but he was not very anxious to acquire these since they were but copies of the

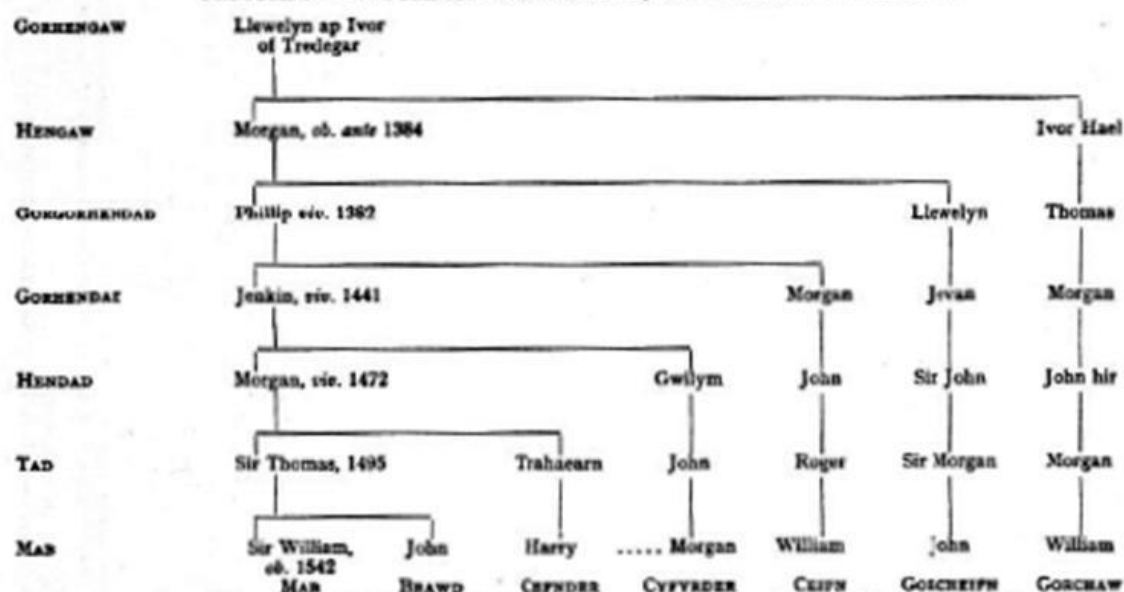
originals now safely in his possession. However, he says: "Another copy of part of the same work I sold for the Rev. Samuel Fenton son of the late Mr. Fenton to W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth Esq in 1827." Is this Peniarth MS. 156 now in the National Library? He had also seen one volume of Cardigan-shire pedigrees with Mr. Lloyd of Mabus, but as this again was only a copy he was not excited about it. He was disappointed in his visit to Rhydygorse, for all that remained there were a small volume of pedigrees of Edwardes, pedigrees of the families of Saunders and Davies of Cwm, and Protheroe of Hawksbrook-all being copies of the originals and in the hand of the old squire of Llwynderw. Some of these Protheroe transcribed. He states that none of the originals of Edwardes' works remained at Rhydygorse, but adds "There is some tradition in the Family of a splendid set of MSS. written on vellum and embellished with paintings of arms, having been in the possession of Mrs Edwardes. But I have inquired in vain for those MSS. of those who were best informed of her property." He ran some of Edwardes' manuscripts to earth at Llantilio Crossenny, Monmouthshire, in the possession of Mrs. Taddy (whose grandfather had married as his second wife the widow of David Edwardes), but he did not acquire them, and notes the fact that they were still in Mrs. Taddy's hands in 1844. This young genealogical bloodhound also found that there was a collection of genealogical manuscripts at Mr. Turberville's at Ewenny, but failed to add them to his collection. 1 A relation of the Rhyd-y-gors family.

Having become the owner of the manuscripts, Edward Protheroe set about examining them. He had occasion to repair several (which he often did very clumsily), and states "When I bought them they were stitched together in a way that only ensured their gradual destruction. Although they had been treated with such neglect, they were regarded as documents of great authenticity and have been appealed to in the decision of cases of descent." Indeed some of them-which have passed through my hands-were in a very sorry state, and defied his efforts to preserve and even to arrange them. His efforts to reconstruct the history of the manuscripts, and to establish the identity of the many hands that appear in them, are sound and interesting bits of research. However, he was completely foxed by the volumes written by George Owen and George William Griffith, which form an extremely important section-indeed the basic section-and he dubs them "unknown." He also made a mistake in describing one, written by George William Griffith in 1642, as "Mr Edwardes' Pembrokeshire Book." He had noticed the hand of Edmund Pryce of Rhydybenne and had appreciated the valuable work made by that man. However, owing to the fact that the writing of Edwardes himself, Edmund Pryce, John Laugharne, and the copyist of the Golden Grove books, are so alike, he sometimes failed to draw correct conclusions. Despite all this, Protheroe's work was meritorious.

From 1822 to 1825 he spent many hours on the collection in his Hampstead house, and arranged and numbered the manuscripts with much success. On 25th July, 1825, he took his quill in hand and wrote with a flourish "Ended arranging the Alltyrodin MSS- Hurrah He fully realized their value, and in 1828, with commendable spirit he decided to offer them to a body of competent people who could use them with both pleasure and profit, and at the same time ensure their preservation. He approached the College of Arms, and on 1st May, 1828, the Chapter agreed to accept his offer and to pay him £ 225, which was the sum he asked for the collection. Thus the College of Arms became possessed of the most important, the most exhaustive, and most authoritative corpus of Welsh genealogical manuscripts. It is perhaps a form of poetic justice that this collection, the bulk of which was the work of a deputy herald, should come finally to rest beneath the roof-tree of the college that he had represented with such distinction in his native Wales.

CHART A.

PEDIGREE FOR PURPOSES OF GALANAS, WITH TERMS OF KINSHIP.



[This is a section of the pedigree of Morgan of Tredegar. From the lines shown above, the Morgans of Langstone, Pencoe, Llantarnam, Muddlescomb, and Gwern-y-Cleppa, descend.]